CHILD STUDY

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HEADLINES

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The widespread interest in child study, not as a purely personal problem but as a vital force in modern society, was strikingly evidenced at the Annual Conference of the Child Study Association in March. The theme was "Recent Research in Child Development"—how children can be helped to grow into men and women capable of living together more harmoniously, and the emphasis was upon infancy as the critical period and upon new interpretations of the school age. Response from the public was overwhelming. The Conference, held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York, drew a record crowd of fifteen hundred, while many hundreds had regretfully to be turned away. Every section of the United States, as well as parts of Canada, was represented and the attendance was composed of a gratifying cross-section of social-minded men and women. Workers from churches, schools, settlements and hospitals, from nursery schools, day nurseries and college home economics departments, from departments of public welfare and health, from mental hygiene and parent-teacher associations, as well as a great many parents, followed the Conference sessions.

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In this current CHILD STUDY we present condensed reports from three of our conference speakers—Dr. Arnold Gesell, Dr. René A. Spitz and Dr. Margaret Mead—together with some of the questions and answers between audience and speakers. We hope to print Dr. Kris's paper later.

Our next issue—the Summer-Fall number—will be based upon the theme of our Conference luncheon—"Pity the Poor Parent," and the discussions of the One-Day Institute for Professional Workers, "Parent Education Moves Ahead." The next issue will appear in mid-September.

A FEW GUIDING PRINCIPLES

ALL PARENTS, whether they want to or not, whether they are prepared to or not, practice the arts that rest on physical and medical sciences. They must also carry on the tasks that rest on our understanding of psychiatry. In their day-to-day dealings with their children, and whether they do it by chance or design, they are continuously modifying or molding emerging personalities, or altering the directions of their development. Yet they do these things within certain limits: the child's native constitution or inheritance also plays a part. In addition, the cultural setting of the customs and prejudices of the group in which a child grows up, all the traditions of a family and community will make their lasting impression, strongly influencing the process of growth and its outcome. Any scientific study of how personality develops must, therefore, constantly consider these various forces.

PERHAPS one of the few things it is safe to say about present-day researches into the enigma of human behavior is that emotional experiences are recognized to be far more important in character development than intellectual ones, which were for centuries the chief concern of educational effort; and the emotions are rapidly becoming the focus of scientific attention. It is *feeling*, apparently, far more than thinking, which determines how we act. It is the motives or moving forces in all of us, which we formerly disparaged—and feared—as the "passions" that act as our motors and not logic, as commonly stressed in an age of reason. Only through increasing our knowledge of the emotions and of how they are aroused and modified are we likely to make much progress in the solution of our distinctly human problems and in the enrichment of our lives. Here is probably the major task for the future, the expansion of the science for which Freud so brilliantly defined the problem and in which he and his fellow-workers made such great beginnings. Yet it is a field to which, in the end, all knowledge must contribute and on which all scientific truth must converge.

THE HANDFUL of brief studies offered in these pages represent only a very few contributions to this greatest of all queries; how does human personality grow to healthy fruition or, on the other hand, how is it frustrated and shriveled or distorted? They are based on careful observations of children themselves and represent initial steps in a vast undertaking. It is noteworthy that other such studies are under way.

DESPITE the practical difficulties and the obvious dangers of offering conclusions prematurely and before our knowledge has ripened, we nevertheless venture to suggest to bewildered parents a few guiding principles which seem

to be well established and also to be relevant for children growing up in homes in a democratic and industrial society approximately like ours of today. These are doubtless old truths but there may be comfort in the assurance that science has given them new validity and offers a wealth of detail to support them.

FIRST. As infants, children need, in addition to nurture and protection, the loving care and attention of their parents as the very source from which they draw the confidence, self-esteem and hardihood to meet the vicissitudes of living.

SECOND. Quite as surely they need parents who will gradually liberate them, as they grow older, from dependence and *over*-protection and who will open for them the opportunity to meet the trials and denials which will inevitably confront them. Only through direct experience with realities can children outgrow their infantile dependence on indulgence or attain the satisfactions and responsibilities that come from identifying themselves with their fellows.

THIRD. They need parents who have themselves acquired a sense of direction amid all the confusions and false hopes that abound in the world of today—parents who have convictions strong enough to keep them sure-footed and yet not so rigid as to crack under the strain of changing conditions.

FOURTH. Children need parents who take part in the common tasks of their communities, who share in the work and responsibilities as well as in the benefits and security of a democratic society. For it is only through parents so related to their fellows that children can attain a sense of belonging that works when they step beyond the shelter of their homes. And only through parents who take part in the life of their times and their neighbors can children learn to accept all their fellows without cringing and without condescension.

THESE ARE the things which seem to us now in 1947 to be the minimum essentials for sound human development. But no family can by itself assure all these to its children, since no family can today live by itself. We are all dependent upon one another, yet we continue to measure our success in terms of out-doing, out-bidding, out-running, out-shouting, out-smarting one another. Because of such unsocial and inconsistent aspirations and standards, we cannot begin to make available to the majority of homes the spiritual essentials for childhood revealed by our current science. And it is for the same reasons that we have not made available to the majority of children even the material conditions which we have long recognized to be essential for their very health and survival.

IT IS only when we make commonplace and assured the basic means and conditions which science shows to be essential for the well-being of all children, that we may dare to expect people to meet the problems that life presents and to deal generally with their inner conflicts without benefit of psychiatry. Inner conflicts there are always bound to be, but perhaps they need not destroy the human race so widely and so fatefully as they are doing today.

INNER SECURITY or insecurity is of course a personal achievement, just as it is always a particular person who is well or ill. But the particular state attained by any individual has its sources, as it has its meaning, only in the social or communal life within which the individual must live. We may hope to see the psychiatry which starts out with ailing personalities extend its researches to fuse with what science can tell us of mankind.

THE EDITORS.

Emotional Growth in the First Year

RENÉ A. SPITZ, M.D.

"EMOTIONS" is a catchword used very freely these days in psychiatry, child study and all fields concerned with the psyche of the adult or the child. Yet, although a large volume of literature is being written and an equally large amount of research conducted concerning emotional reactions, emotional needs, emotional deprivations, we know little about the way in which emotions develop in the life history of an individual.

Most of us assume that emotions are our ready-made birthright, inherited from our forbears and brought with us when we are born. That this is not the case, we have discovered only rather recently, though had we been able earlier to observe babies with genuine objectivity, we should have learned it long ago. The human being, however, with his curious habit of projecting his own feelings and attitudes into everything and everybody around him, has the greatest difficulty in achieving objectivity. A child who calls a table "bad" because he has bruised himself against it, an adult who impatiently kicks the chair on which he has barked his shins—both have fallen into the human error which psychiatry calls "projection."

This tendency to endow objects and beings with an emotional attitude which they do not actually possess has led to innumerable forms of psychological falsification. Animal psychology, in the literature of the past century, was a favorite field for projection, and animals in many books of that period act and talk like dignified Senators, immoral gangsters, Park Avenue dowagers or abandoned psychopaths. Actually, the psychology of animals is still largely a closed book to us. Animal thought processes are so different from the human that we cannot even begin to imagine them. Why then did such obviously incorrect ideas continue to prevail for so long? The answer is simple—animals cannot speak, therefore they cannot contradict the motives or intentions which people attribute to them.

Most of us recognize our ignorance of the animal world but few realize that there also lives in our midst a large group of human beings who cannot speak and therefore can neither contradict us nor express their feelings in words. Nor can they express them later, when they learn to speak, for later they will not remember. I refer to human babies in the pre-verbal stage.

Viewing Babies Objectively

Much ignorance concerning infants has accumulated through the centuries, and much knowledge and intentional behavior attributed to them which they have never possessed. It is only very recently, in the past thirty years or so, that psychology and psychiatry have begun to investigate what babies really feel and think, if indeed they do think. It was when, instead of attributing our own feelings to the baby, we began looking at him objectively, as a newcomer from Mars might look at a strange human city, that we began to change our views on the psychology of infancy. Then we saw, what anyone who views a new-born baby with detachment will admit, that in the first days of life an infant's capacity for interchange with the world is very restricted indeed.

Many overimaginative mothers insist that their children recognize them on the third day or the seventh or the fourteenth, but close scientific observation shows that this is not the case. During his first days, only one emotion can be observed in a baby—and that is discontent. When something disagreeable happens to him, either from the outside or the inside, the child screams and yells and expresses himself by uncoordinated movements. No possible stimulation would produce in the new-born what we grown-ups call a pleasure-emotion. In the beginning there are just two opposites in the baby—dissatisfaction and quiescence. Disagreeable experiences produce discontent in the infant, otherwise he remains quiet and usually goes to sleep, so that during the first week he sleeps about twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four.

Dr. Spitz is a psychiatrist and a member of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute who has carried on important research into the years of infancy, where psychiatric theory centers its interest as the most critical and decisive period of the individual's life. Dr. Spitz's lecture, of which this article is a condensation, was accompanied by moving pictures of infants to illustrate his conclusions.

The psychological problem now arises: How then does this little mass of organized matter, capable only of the one emotion of discontent, eventually develop our enormous gamut of finely differentiated human emotions—love, affection, sympathy, interest; fear, anxiety, apprehension; rage, anger, hate, jealousy? That is the problem I set myself in the research which I started many years ago and of which I shall attempt here to explain some of the results, as they apply to the first year of life.

The Child's Earliest Behavior

We started with the discovery of the poverty of the child's emotions at birth, but we found that even in the following few weeks a differentiation begins to take place. Displeasure becomes slowly more specific, while from quiescence develops a new behavior—that of turning toward pleasurable stimulation. For, after about a week, when the mother takes up the baby to give him the breast, he will turn toward her. This is the first active sign the infant gives that anything pleasurable is happening.

Very soon after this, when the mother or any other person offers her face to the baby, he will stare at it unwaveringly, though in this same period he is still unable to fixate upon an inanimate object. One may show a baby at this stage any colored object, moving or still, noisy or silent, and he will look around in a disorganized manner but not directly at it. Show him a human face, however, and he will not only stare at it but follow it everywhere it moves. When ophthalmologists, attempting to establish the visual field in infants, tried to find an object that would provide a reliable stimulus for their purpose, none was comparable in effectiveness to the human face.

If one stops to consider this for a moment, the reason is not hard to find. Any pleasure which the baby can get at this age is proffered by a human being. "Pleasure," in this connection, is really too active a word. The reaction in the baby is rather a relief from discomfort, a sense of needs satisfied—food, drink, warmth, fondling, a bath in warm water, the removal of soiled diapers, loving attention if he feels pain or discomfort. All of these need-gratifications are tendered by the mother or by another human being replacing the mother, so on each occasion of pleasurable stimulation, the baby sees the human face at close quarters. Through this connection with everything satisfactory in the child's life, the human face becomes of supreme importance in influencing the early steps of the child's development. That is a statement which I believe our research justifies us in making. Since we have discovered also that babies invariably choose the human face as the stimulus for their first smile, we may accept the smile as a sign that they are experiencing something in the nature of a pleasurable expectation.

By the beginning of the third month, babies will not only follow the movements of grown-ups even at a distance of from ten to twenty feet, but will respond to the sight of a face with a positive emotion, by smiling or babbling. Mothers may well insist that their babies smile much earlier, and this is true. Babies do smile very soon after birth—the earliest smile we have filmed was on the eighth day—but such smiling does not occur in response to a specific stimulus. The baby does not smile *at* anything; the occurrence is only an accidental movement of the facial muscles, as inconsequential as squirming, writhing, kicking or frowning. The adult cannot arouse this early smile by any kind of ministration he may offer the child.

The smile which appears after the end of the second month, and exceptionally even earlier, is, however, quite a different affair. One circumstance will arouse it with absolute certainty—the baby's sight of the human face. There is a general fond belief among mothers that they are recognized by their babies at this stage, but that notion is incorrect. A baby will smile not only at his mother but at any face offered under similar circumstances: full-face and in movement. For when a mother handles a baby, ministering to him, she does so face on, smiling, nodding and speaking, since she is only human. So, if any stranger, smiling and nodding, approaches a child of from three to six months, the baby will also smile and babble and gurgle, for at this stage the human being in general represents his source of comfort and security. We have even discovered by experiments that from the third to the sixth month a baby will react in the same fashion to a Hallowe'en mask, so long as the mask nods and moves. However, if the adult turns his face into profile, even though he continues the nodding and smiling, the baby will suddenly stop smiling and look bewildered. The full face or its substitute, associated as it is with the pleasurable gratification of his needs, is his familiar signal for the approach of a human being and at this age nothing else will do.

So, from the diffuse emotion which we had at birth, we have already by the third month progressed rather far in differentiation. The baby shows now not only a pleasurable, an interested turning toward the human, but also an expression of pleasure at beholding the

human being. Usually this pleasure is anticipatory; the baby smiles before the food is actually given. It is likely, however, that the very earliest manifestations take place during and after the feeding.

This discrimination of the human face is the earliest of all the child's perceptions. Developed by the baby's emotional relations to his mother, it is highly important because it breaks the trail for the rest of the child's development.

The negative emotions also become related to this recognition. By the end of the fourth month, a well-developed baby will show displeasure if you stop playing with him, thus depriving him of your person, although at this same period, he will not scream if you take his rattle away. It is only two months later, in the sixth month, that he will cry at having his playthings removed. Considering that at that age, two months is one-third of the child's total life-span, the recognition that he is losing his toys represents further development in discrimination.

The "Eight-Months' Anxiety"

But this is only a beginning. After the sixth month, the negative emotions begin to take the lead. The baby, who up to then has not distinguished between different human individuals, male or female, white or colored, mother or stranger, now manifests a new kind of behavior when a stranger appears. This varies from coyness to anxiety. Some children look bewildered by the strange face, others hide their faces behind a skirt or a blanket, some begin to cry or to scream. Anyone who knows his way around with babies can soon overcome this reaction. It means simply that the child has begun to discriminate between strangers and his mother or familiar friends. This "eight-months' anxiety," as we call it, is by no means undesirable. On the contrary, it represents an important, significant and necessary step forward in the development of the child's emotional equipment. Until the baby has learned to distinguish between friend and stranger, between his emotions toward one person as compared to another, he is obviously incapable of what we call love, affection, sympathy. The singling out of one person is the great development which takes place in the baby's eighth month.

One reason for the child's apparently slow social progress during the first six months is his helplessness, which keeps him a passive object ministered to by persons around him. This ministration is on the whole benevolent, but sometimes not what he needs. Fortunately, the child's receptiveness at this age is still of such a low grade that little harm can be done. But after the sixth month, the infant ceases to submit passively. His bodily development now enables him not only to make better coordinated movements of withdrawal from unpleasant experiences but also movements of approach toward pleasant ones. Simultaneously his capacity for discrimination increases by leaps and bounds until he reaches the point of displaying anxiety toward strangers, destined to be an important part of his emotional development.

From here on the development becomes rapid. In the course of the next two months, the child will show a more possessive attitude toward his toys. He will probably select one in particular—a teddy-bear or even a pillow or a shawl—which may remain for years his favorite sleeping-companion. This, I believe, is the first sign of a possessive emotion.

The baby will develop also at this same period another set of negative emotions. The first traces of jealousy become visible in the ninth or tenth month. If, in a room where several babies of that age are lying in their cots, you single out one to play with, you will suddenly feel a small hand reach through the bars behind, tugging at your coat, because another ten-month-old baby feels neglected and is taking active steps to remedy matters. If you persist in ignoring that hand, its owner will begin to cry or scream in a manner indicating rage and jealousy. Clearly, such behavior is a direct development of the four-months'-old displeasure at being left by the adult, and the six-months'-old anger at having his toys removed.

Wider Range of Emotions

So, by the tenth or the twelfth month, quite a wide gamut of emotion has developed from the originally meager reactions. The child is now capable of showing not only displeasure, but anxiety, disappointment, anger and jealousy. On the positive side of the balance, he is able to show pleasure, love for one specific person, sympathy and friendliness toward other persons, enjoyment of his toys and a positive sense of property toward some special object. From this point on, the child's development will be rapid, complicated and extremely varied.

To this sequence of normal development there are, of course, exceptions, as there are exceptions to every rule. In emotionally deprived children, like the babies in so-called charitable institutions, who are in so many cases deprived of emotional interchange, the smile in the first trimester may be absent, or smiling at strangers may persist far into the third tri-

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Babies in Primitive Societies

MARGARET MEAD

WHEN an anthropologist discusses a psychoanalytical study of babies, like the report by Dr. Spitz, she has two tasks—finding points of agreement and finding points of disagreement. Such a discussion should point up the difference it makes to bring children up in one type of culture or in another; it should correlate research findings with our observations of the infant in primitive societies; and it should note, if possible, primitive insights which may be worth our imitating.

Babies in primitive societies, of course, are rather different from ours. For one thing, they wear little or no clothes and neither do their mothers. This obviously makes a great difference. Under such circumstances, much more is offered the baby than the human face. In our civilization, we over-depend upon the face and under-depend upon the body. Go into a Gypsy camp to have your fortune told, and while you fix your face into what you consider a desirable expression, the Gypsy will be watching your body. Then when she tells you exactly what you are thinking and feeling, you call her clairvoyant.

A South Sea island baby is offered its mother's whole body, not just her face, and it lies constantly against her skin, an experience which conditions its first responses. It does not have to wait until it is able to see her face before it can have any fun in life. I am in nowise contradicting Dr. Spitz's explanation of the general progress of discrimination in our own babies when I state that I have a film of a native baby who at twenty hours old showed rather positive pleasure as it turned toward the mother, and as its hands folded and unfolded while nursing. This state was much too active to be called quiescence.

We must remember, however, that this child was given a better and earlier human experience than our babies. In the first place, it was not born in a modern delivery room, from an anesthetized mother lying flat on her back. It did not therefore enter the world against the force of gravity but with it. In this case, it happened that the father had ordered the mother to run get him some tobacco quickly—and she ran. Her baby was born in the bush, very quickly. It never had to be held up by the heels and slapped to start it breathing.

Nor was it isolated from its mother in a nursery with ten other babies, each having an entirely different life-rhythm from its own. It was nursed immediately after birth by a neighbor with another baby and thereafter was held against its mother's skin, in her lap or under her breast. All this gave it a far better and more immediate human experience in the first days of its life than we offer our children.

If, as Dr. Spitz pointed out, all learning follows behind this early emotional experience of inter-relationship between parent and child, then the more of such personal relations we give it, the better. And this should include smell and the sight and the feel of the mother's body, not just three inches of it opened up like a window in a jail, at nursing-time. The new-born child has just come from an experience within the mother, where its whole body had a skin-to-flesh relationship with hers. If we could keep this process continuous from the moment of birth, there would be no break in the valuable experience of human interaction. This, however, might prove rather awkward and difficult within the limitations of our own culture.

Growth Through Interaction

Dr. Spitz's research shows up sharply that in the development of a human being, not only love but interaction is important. I have seen babies in a tribe, who were hated by their mothers but who were gayer and more advanced than our much-loved children who are left alone in a cot to commune with the ceiling. For it is through this actual interaction with another human being that we grow. In the deep concern of our own civilization with hygiene we bring up people so protected from the human touch that they are really unfit to love anybody. Take, for instance, the masks worn by nurses in our baby hospitals. Native mothers sit, naked and cross-legged on the ground, holding the naked baby against their whole body, while the child's toes fold and unfold with pleasure. In an American hospital nursery, a nurse wearing an enormous mask

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Dr. Margaret Mead is an anthropologist who has lived for long periods among South Seas peoples. Her books, of which the first was *Coming of Age in Samoa*, as well as her many lectures, have made her findings known to a wide American public. Dr. Mead is Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

over her face leans over the baby, giving it the bottle. That mask is a symbol of the barrier we put between ourselves and our children, depriving them of human interaction and the growth they need.

Another important difference between these native children and our babies is in activity and weight. After I leave a primitive settlement and board a boat where I see European babies again, they look to me as big as whales—so large and pale and fat. And they lie for hours, looking at the ceiling and waving their arms, at an age when a native baby would be climbing all over you. For these primitive children have been picked up and held by human beings every minute, from the beginning, interacting to their mother's and other adults' movements. Being less well nourished than our babies—who are often so overfed they can hardly move—they are much lighter in weight, and so can be more easily carried about by their mothers. A good deal of the time they are held in an upright position. We have a foolish notion that a baby's neck is so weak that the child should be kept in a horizontal position, but actually, there is nothing in the whole of animal history to suggest that the human infant likes to lie flat, looking at the ceiling. This is the life we offer our babies much of the time, while the native mother carries her child under her breast in a sling or on her arm, or else astride her hip, and under all circumstances, with its head up. Among one Sepik River people, the mother, if she wants to give it a little more independence by holding it less closely, sets it on her arm, with her first finger under its chin and her thumb under its forearm, and thus a baby moves around the village with its mother.

I agree with Dr. Spitz that the development of possessiveness comes from a very close relationship to one person, but I think that perhaps this relationship curtails a broader human adjustment. In some of the primitive societies I know, babies are cared for by several people, who all love them and understand them and hold them in their arms. They all understand each particular baby's rhythm—when it is sleepy, when it is hungry, what its different expressions mean. Children so raised develop into warmer people, more capable of love in general, though perhaps less apt to form the kind of passionate attachment which would lead them to throw vitriol on anyone who interfered with their love affair.

In our society, too, it would seem advisable to raise children able to make a great many human adjustments. We do not live in a fantasy world where at

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AUDIENCE QUESTIONS

Answered at the Conference by Dr. Spitz and Dr. Mead

QUESTION

How can you carry out the self-demand feeding if your child starts its first ten or fourteen days in a hospital which interferes with the plan?

ANSWER BY DR. SPITZ

At the present moment, hospitals by and large are interfering with self-demand feeding. But a growing body of medical men have now started to badger hospitals to such a point that they will at least permit mothers to enjoy their babies right from the beginning instead of giving them numbers and sticking them into a closed room. If a baby has already been disturbed by the hospital's four-hour schedule, you must simply have patience after you get it home. Slowly, it will find its own rhythm again.

QUESTION

Is it possible to expose a baby to too much interaction or too many stimuli?

ANSWER BY DR. MEAD

One reason for the fear you express is that we now have methods of keeping alive very weak babies. In primitive societies, if very long labor has exhausted the child, or if a baby is weak and does not nurse well, it is likely to die. The result is that the babies who do live are stronger than the kind we worry about. In primitive societies, there are probably no allergic babies. If they get skin diseases they die, whereas in our civilization we manage to keep alive children with extra-sensitive skins. An over-sensitive baby cannot stand as much stimulation as other babies, but it would be better quiet in its mother's arms than in a crib.

ANSWER BY DR. SPITZ

The question of over-stimulation is not quite as serious during the first year as later on. But the kind of mother who is constantly poking her baby for lack of something better to do is giving it a most undesirable form of stimulation. Some mothers are so unsatisfied by what they are that they have to justify themselves by what their baby is. One mother I know absolutely insisted upon getting her baby to stand and walk when it was six weeks old. She succeeded, but by the time it was six months it had exaggerated bow legs, and the psychic effect of this over-stimulation was even more harmful and more lasting. Another type of mother had to keep stroking her baby all the time, and smearing it with ointments. It may have been the ointments which caused the baby to develop a skin ailment or it may have been the constant prodding. These are the exceptions. The normal woman, with plenty to occupy her times besides her baby, need not worry about over-stimulating a normal child.

QUESTION

How can you allow a baby to develop its self-demand schedule and still meet the demands of the rest of the family?

ANSWER BY DR. MEAD

Adding a baby and his rhythm to a family with several other children in it is not so difficult if you have been paying any attention to the other rhythms in the family. A new baby is after all the most important member of the family and his demands should be met. But in a household where the needs of the family to rest and play have already been studied, you can fit a baby in without too much trouble. If, however, you have been running a home on strict schedules, with breakfast always on the table at 7:30 and the household wrecked for twenty-four hours if father sleeps late on Saturday morning, a baby may be catastrophic. But adding one more rhythmic note to a flexible rhythmic situation is, although a lot of work, quite possible.

New Interpretations of the School-Age Child

ARNOLD GESELL, M.D.

THE conclusion to be drawn from the recent studies made by the Yale Clinic of Child Development might be summed up in one phrase—the child from five to ten *grows* psychologically as well as physically.

Growth is taken so much for granted that this statement may seem a sheer truism. But from the scientist's point of view, at least, truisms are often worth examination. The more common attitude toward the question of growth was illustrated for me on a trip to the Middle West, when, in a venturesome mood, I stepped up to a book and magazine stand and asked: "Do you carry any book that tells how babies grow?" The man behind the counter looked at me in amazement. "Hey, Bill," he called to his partner. "Here's a gent wants to know what makes a baby grow. Why, you feed him, of course!"

This incident well expresses our usual lack of reflection on the significance of growth. The word itself is empty unless one thinks of growth as a process just as real, biologically and psychologically, as metabolism, digestion or secretion. Although the sophisticated educator sometimes misses the implications of the growth process, children themselves seem to sense its meaning, because children have an impulse to grow up. When two children of different ages meet, the senior automatically assumes a senior relation toward the junior. When a three-year-old child says: "I don't do that any more," he is betraying a sense of growth very important in his psychology. It is also rather characteristic of the six-year-old to begin thinking just what growth and growing-up mean. One seven-year-old of my acquaintance even wrote and illustrated a small paper volume which he entitled *Handbook: A Child from Two to Five. By T. J.* The study begins: "A child of two, at least some, is a good eater but he is a poor sleeper," and ends: "At five they are very nice. He is a fairly good sleeper and a good eater. The End."

Dr. Gesell's name has for many years been one of the best known in the field of child study. The Clinic of Child Development in the School of Medicine at Yale University, of which he is Director, has studied thousands of children, and the findings are familiar to parents through Dr. Gesell's many books. The most recent is "The Child from Five to Ten" of which Dr. Gesell is co-author.

In our experience we have found that children know so much about this process of growing up that we should probably take them more into our confidence, even at early ages. I am not speaking psychoanalytically; I mean rather a homespun, conversational, intimate relationship which will make us better acquainted with the children themselves. We are sometimes so eager to interpret children that our interpretation outruns our actual acquaintance with their characteristics. And when these familiar facts are duly classified in an orderly way, they become useful knowledge.

We know as yet very little about the fundamental character of the developing child. Only assiduous study, not ideological speculation, will make this child more understandable to us and therefore more amenable to our culture. Indeed, our culture itself will tend to improve when we use more enlightened methods of child care and child management. Enlightened treatment of children depends upon sympathetic interpersonal relationships. And such relationships, in turn, depend upon a more penetrating knowledge of the nature of child development.

The Yale Clinic, therefore, has found it worthwhile to consult, in New Haven, certain experts called "mothers." Mothers possess a great deal of information about their children, drawn from the crucible of their natural lives, and this information, duly recorded, has increased our knowledge of child behavior. We have gathered hundreds and thousands of such detailed impressions about the child in his home, and after the data were assembled and classified, we found that we had covered some ten major fields of behavior and some forty-two special areas. In round figures, we had about three thousand behavior items in the form of maturity traits. All these traits, duly arranged as growth gradients, reflected the rich and complex pageant of child development for the years from five to ten.

We have classified this material not in terms of compiling statistics but in terms of the child's age. It is the developmental sequence, not the age norm, which is important. How can one begin to understand the complexity and structure of the child's

mind except by paying attention to those patterns of behavior which declare his mind? From our point of view, the mind is as tangible as tissue. It has design and direction, structure and morphology. The mind is like a tapestry or fabric, but a growing one. By thus regarding it as a patterned complex, the emotional life of the child begins to take on character.

What is this emotional character? There is in Nature, Emerson said, "an inevitable dualism, so that each thing is a half and suggests another thing to make it whole. . . ." The child, being part of Nature, is subject to these dualisms and they permeate our culture, for the culture itself has been created by us and by our dualisms! If the conflict, as Emerson hinted, is tempered and proportioned, it tends to achieve some kind of wholeness. If the process of growth proceeds constructively, the conflicts can be progressively resolved. By understanding the dualisms in our own culture we can attack the problem of the emotional life of the child.

Age Characteristics

To become more concrete, let us look at the growth of children between the ages of five and ten. These years are ordinarily lumped together but in our survey we have broken them down into several maturity-levels, demonstrating that each year has its distinctive characteristics. By "year," of course, we mean a zone, comparable to the temperate, frigid and torrid divisions of the world's geography. With this qualification in mind, we may state that FOUR is an expansive phase of development, branching off into many tangents, and characterized by a little roughness. FIVE is more self-contained, better integrated and organized. SIX again becomes dispersive, but rather sketchily so, and both he and we must reckon at almost every turn with those Emersonian dualisms. But at seven, the child tends to become pensive, thoughtful and assimilative, only to again grow expansive, at a higher level, when he reaches eight.

Such brief characterizations may sound like catchwords but they do correctly indicate that development does not take a straightforward course, but tends to spiral, with repetitions and regroupings, at ascending levels. The child, however, can never outgrow *himself* and it is through an intricate process of interweaving that he makes his connections with higher growth levels. The eight-year-old is still the four-year-old, but at a higher level, always subject to the one over-all dynamic of development.

What happens midstream at the eight-year-old level? We find that the child is now a bit adult, conversing more readily with adults and actually beginning to look more like one. His facial expression has changed perceptibly. He is less brooding than at seven, more receptive to the responses of others, somewhat speedy as well as expansive. He becomes evaluative, not in the pensive way of seven, but with quicker judgments. Note how alertly he watches the adults, observing their demeanor, what they say and how they say it. This is one of his ways of growing up, his method for getting into our culture. The growing fabric of his growth is sending out strands into inter-personal relationships and these help to create the characteristics of his personality. Even his vision is now more mature, accommodating itself to near as well as to far distances. At eight, he fatigues less than at seven, his illnesses are lighter. He is more interested in rough and tumble play. His energy is such that he tends to bolt his food and sit on the corner of his chair. He shows a new perceptiveness of the opposite sex, both by withdrawal and by new forms of exploration.

Though less embroiled with his mother than SIX, EIGHT is very demanding of his mother's attention. He erects images not only of what she expects of him but of what he expects of her, and he finds discrepancies irritating. He is sensitive and tends to be easily hurt. He is tenacious in his claims—too much so, his mother may well think, but this too is a growth mechanism which merits her sympathy and understanding. By this tenacity he perfects his pattern of social behavior and deepens his thrust into the emotional life of adults.

The Child's Paradox

As the child grows, he has the double, paradoxical problem of shaping his own emotions but shaping them in relation to the emotions of others. His ethical sense undergoes refinement and he begins to understand more clearly something of the difference between right and wrong. He becomes sensitive to the point of tears if scolded too harshly. He is now much more insistent upon truthfulness, and even when he uses alibis, they tend to be a mixture of alibi and a sense of ethics. When he declares by way of excuse that "he would not have done that, if . . . etc." he is betraying an emerging consciousness of moral values. For his ethical sense is growing just as surely as his expertness in handling physical materials.

Expansiveness shows itself also in a new dramatic interest. He not only assumes roles but can evaluate them dramatically. A boy will turn a mail-order catalogue into a magic carpet. Girls at this age often

show a special interest in two-dimensional paper dolls, which they manipulate complexly to re-enact family situations. Both boys and girls now become more conscious of marital problems. They are less animistic, a little more scientific in their attitudes. Boys begin to understand the proposition that all men are mortal. Dramatic expansiveness expresses itself by hyperbole: "This is awful!" "Things are terrible!" "I love this." "I hate that." The child dramatizes himself as he stretches out for maturity.

What Educational Changes?

Our findings as to the growth of the child from five to ten, therefore, lead us to the conclusion that revolutionary changes are due in our elementary education. On what shall these changes be based?

Our culture has reached a stage of maturity when we need, as never before, a realistic science of child development, which will take into account not only our own behavior and that of our children but the needs of our culture as well. By understanding the child, we shall better understand at least the underlying processes which govern our society. For this reason, I believe that teacher training should turn away from traditional educational psychology, with its tedious emphasis on the learning process, and shift the focus to the growing process. Unless the child's growth characteristics are understood as a surgeon understands the anatomy and fabric of bodily tissue, the environment cannot be adjusted to the child's nature and needs. The core of characteristicness in the fabric of his behavior represents the child's individuality, and, whatever his growth, that individuality cannot be transcended.

A fundamental emphasis on the processes of individual development will help to break down the barrier which prevents understanding between parents and teachers. Teachers are often on the defensive, parents are too accusing, and curriculum requirements further confuse the situation. But all adults dealing with a child should be mutually concerned with his developmental welfare. Here is a common meeting ground for parent-teacher relationships. Parents and pediatricians have been somewhat in advance of teachers in the recognition of the developmental characteristics of infancy and childhood. Some years ago the American Board of Pediatrics organized a committee on growth and development. A doctor cannot be certified as a pediatric specialist until he has passed an examination in the field of growth and development. School authorities should give similar emphasis to the developmental approach to problems of child hygiene and education. With increasing knowledge, and with a philosophy of child development, we can humanize our culture, improve our schools, and increase our happiness through our children.

AUDIENCE QUESTIONS TO DR. GESELL

QUESTION

Is Dr. Gesell's most recent film made for distribution to clubs and study groups and if so where can it be obtained?

ANSWER

The March of Time produced a documentary film in the Forum Edition, depicting the work of the Yale Clinic of Child Development. This film is now available on a rental or purchase basis to educators or club groups, and can be obtained from *The March of Time,* 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York. We have a new series of ten silent films, dealing with the first five years of life. These films are also available on a rental or purchase basis and can be obtained from Encyclopædia Britannica Films, Inc., 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Illinois.

QUESTION

What corrective measures would you recommend to correct thumb-sucking?

ANSWER

My general rule is not to give advice except in terms of the individual child and the individual home. This is a matter of management and strategy.

QUESTION

How much freedom should an eight-year-old child be allowed in his play? Should he be restricted to his own yard or allowed to play where he pleases?

ANSWER

There is considerable hazard in allowing the eight-year-old complete freedom in play because of a certain lack of caution at this age. Accidents tend to reach a peak in this period. Because of his very expansiveness, the eight-year-old needs watching and direction. But you can and should give him plenty of opportunity to use his energies.

DR. KRIS'S COMMENT

When I read in Dr. Gesell's book about the high frequency of corporal dangers in the activity of the eight-year-old, I was reminded of a remark I used to make jokingly to my students—that the legs of the eight- or nine-year-old are an index of his auto-punitive behavior. Many accidents occur with children who are extremely alert and possess maximum bodily control. I have a feeling that they are living out impulses which they would like to control. A slight accident may relieve great inner tension, bring it out into the open, mixing the growth of self-satisfaction with a little shock.

Editor's Note—Dr. Ernst Kris addressed the Conference on "Psychoanalytic Insights into the Child's Middle Years" and took part in the audience discussion.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

At what age should I send my child to nursery school? If I send him during the so-called "turbulent period," will nursery school increase his turbulence?

It should neither increase it nor squelch it. Turbulence is considered a part of the curriculum of nursery school. Sometimes this turbulence is called a need for physical activity, so schools provide large blocks, barrels, climbing apparatus, wheelbarrows and bicycles and—space. Imaginary earthquakes and air raids sometimes destroy whole cities constructed of blocks, to the hilarious glee of four- and five-year-olds. No damage is done; quite the contrary, for aggression is also among the needs of young children. Besides, the cities can be built up again so that the child gradually learns that he can get as much fun from building up as from tearing down. Floors are covered with washable linoleum for the mud and paint that is spilled both accidentally and purposely. Note that aggression, destruction and mess are not taught in the nursery school but they are expected and provided for, just as imagination, creativity, the desire for success and the joy of positive accomplishment are provided for. With opportunity for both, it has been found that slowly, very slowly, there is less and less of the one and more and more of the other.

Hand in hand with the physical activity goes an emotional turbulence which is also important. The three-year-old is getting a new perspective on his family. What is his relationship to Mommy, to Daddy, to his sisters and brothers? What is Daddy's and Mommy's relationship to each other and to the other children? This is a big problem in the child's life and in trying to resolve it, he has to experience many inevitable disappointments and frustrations. Going off to school does not mean that he no longer has his home problems but it gives him a respite, so that he is less likely to become fixed on it. He has disappointments and frustrations at school too, but the difference is that at school his teacher isn't his Mommy and all the other children have disappointments, too, which he sees them face and live through, realizing his chance for success is as good as theirs.

Nursery school can never be a substitute for the home but for many three-year-olds it can be a valuable supplement.

I find my four-year-old getting more and more resistant to everything. Sometimes I make him do things, but sometimes I just let him have his own way. My husband says I'm making a mistake in being so wishy-washy. But it seems to me that I'd simply wear myself out being firm all the time. Is it worth it?

Whether you are wishy-washy or firm is less important than that you should be consistent. Your child needs to know just what you expect of him and what he can count on from you. Children feel insecure when their parents' discipline depends on which way the wind blows. To begin with, of course, it's wise to keep your demands as few as possible and to temper them and time them so that the child will feel less need to rebel. Nevertheless, there are always certain musts, and children usually find life easier and more secure if they know which things these are and learn that they must accept them. It's silly, and, as you say, not worth the struggle, to make everything an issue or insist on obedience just because you have to take a firm stand. It's equally silly not to be ready to change your mind, to make exceptions when these seem called for, or to drop some demand which seems to arouse resistance. But at the same time both of you will be less troubled if your child knows with some definiteness that you mean what you say at all times —that you are consistent in your discipline.

My two boys, four and six, often get into scraps that sometimes end in some bitter fist fights. The younger one is strong and can protect himself to some extent, but the older one is big for his age and gets so excited when the battles begin that I'm afraid he'll really harm the little one. And yet I don't want to interfere between them. What ought I do?

It is not easy to know how far to let children of different ages work out their differences without interference, and there is no positive rule or magic formula to go by. Some arguments and even some fighting are to be expected among children, and where they are working it out fairly evenly, adults do not have to step in. When the physical fights get as violent as you describe, however, it seems to be a different matter. They should be stopped for two

reasons: first, to save the little one from harm and from the feeling of being constantly overwhelmed by a force that is too much for him; and second, to save the older one from the violence of his own aggressive impulses, and keep him from actively doing something he will regret. Children really don't want to hurt their sisters and brothers and are devastated if they find they have done so. They need to feel that in times of emotional stress and rage they can count on the grown-ups around them—and particularly their parents—to stand on the side of their consciences and help them to control the feelings which may otherwise be too much for them.

If parents are not frightened themselves by these situations, they can meet them with understanding and with firmness, too, and both children will probably be relieved to have the brawls stopped. At the same time, one must try to see that each child feels that the parents have been fair and have not favored one as against the other. And perhaps some suggestions that will turn the boys toward things they can enjoy doing together will help to ease the tension. It may be wise to plan to separate the boys at times, too, encouraging each one to play at his own level with boys of his own age.

I am puzzled by what seems to me contradictory advice given to parents about children's need for mothering. On the one hand we hear that babies need lots of love and cuddling and on the other that this dreadful thing called "Momism" is ruining the younger generation and is responsible, in fact, for many of the neuropsychiatric disabilities discovered during the war. Can you straighten me out on this point?

The child's age is all-important. It is true that babies under a year, and perhaps especially under six months, need a great deal of the love and cuddling you mention. Very early in life they respond to the mother's face, to her smiles and nods and to the physical comfort she brings. Their later capacity for independence and self-reliance will be greater, not less, for having had these things in plentiful doses during the early months.

But everything depends, too, on the mother's willingness to support her child's growth toward self-reliance and separateness step by step as he shows readiness. Around six months of age babies begin to use their hands and pull themselves about. They become interested in objects in their surroundings other than people; they are able to tolerate being left to themselves a bit now and then.

By a year old a child still needs plenty of love and cuddling, as he will for several years to come, but he needs less of the intense bodily closeness of the early months. He is beginning to find himself as a separate individual with a will of his own. As time goes on, he needs widening experience with people and things; encouragement in skills which will further his independence. He should discover, too, that his actions and desires have limits, that he cannot be in sole possession of his mother; he may no longer share her bed or room at night, for example, and must learn to accept the hard truth that she loves his father and his other brothers and sisters as they come along. Of such stuff are the frustrations of early childhood woven. As the normal mother is able to impose them, so, too, is the normal child able to accept them, always provided that the background is one of steadfast love.

During the early school years, children crave their parents' interest in the things they enjoy and become rather impatient of "cuddling." They want parents who are interested in what interests them but their frame of reference in many respects has become other children—"the gang." Still later in adolescence they need plenty of chances to make excursions out of their homes altogether now and then; they need to experiment "on their own," to learn from experience.

Perhaps most of all they need a chance to do adult work in a community prepared to accept them. But all these steps impose responsibilities and the mother-educator must make these conditions clear.

This question of how much mother, therefore, is largely one of the child's age and stage of development. The mental health and maturity of the mother herself are the best guarantee that she will be able both to give herself to her children when they need her and to withdraw when the time is ripe.

HILDE HUBBUCK

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Suggestions for Study Groups

This outline is based on the articles in this issue on the general theme "As a Child Grows," and is offered as a guide to readers who wish to use CHILD STUDY as source material for group study and discussion.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH IN THE FIRST YEAR

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Infants are not born with a set of emotions ready-made, but develop them through experiences of the first years. At birth the only emotion babies express actively is discomfort. Expressions of satisfaction, pleasure and later of disappointment, love, jealousy, and so forth, develop as the infant associates gratification of his needs with the sight of the human face, and as he identifies his mother's face from among those of others. Without this human interaction normal emotional development does not occur. Especially important is the period after the infant reaches six months of age, when he becomes capable of taking a more active part in this process of interaction. Grown-ups often complicate their relations with babies by reading into infants' behavior adult feelings and responses of which the babies are not capable.

To Discuss:

How do you reconcile Dr. Spitz's description of the development of emotions with the observation that in early infancy the human face is associated with many disagreeable as well as with satisfying experiences?

What practical application of Dr. Spitz's theory can be made in the home for the care of infants?

In terms of Dr. Spitz's theory would six months of age be the time to start toilet training, or to begin insisting that the baby "cry it out?"

Discuss the kind of provisions that should be made in institutions caring for young babies if their normal emotional development is to be assured.

What part can the father's face play in the baby's life, according to Dr. Spitz's theory?

BABIES IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Dr. Spitz stresses the importance of the human face as a focus for the development of recognition, of love, disappointment and other emotions. Dr. Mead believes we can go further. Babies in certain primitive societies show more rapid development than our infants. Close comforting contact of the babies' bare bodies with that of the mother, and the rich source of stimulation in tribal life may explain this precocity as well as a later tendency to become especially warm-hearted and affectionate adults. By offering our infants the right kind of attention and stimulation we satisfy and encourage each in accordance with his capacity to respond. This is different from the kind of attention expressed by idle prodding of babies or by fussing over them because of one's own insecurity. It is easier to accommodate a new baby, with his special needs in a family in which each member's rights are being respected, than in a household which is being run on a rigid schedule.

To Discuss:

Do you infer from Dr. Mead's discussion that mothers should sleep with their new babies? Why not?

What light on the possibilities of the grandparents' rôle in family life does Dr. Mead suggest?

How can we give our children some of the advantages of tribal life without going completely native?

Discuss Dr. Mead's point that it is easier to fit the new baby's special rhythms into a family which is already taking account of its member's rhythms than in a family which "runs on schedule."

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SCHOOL-AGE CHILD

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Children grow psychologically as well as physically. Their minds, understanding and attitudes grow up as well as do their bodies. In everyday living with our children, and in teaching them and in planning for their education, we have to remember what is the "age" of the mind and of the personality with which we are dealing. We can't expect to push a six-year-old ahead to ten-year-old understanding, or expect a twelve-year-old to do his best if we use seven-year-old psychology in dealing with him. Careful study of our children will help us to recognize ways in which we can use this force of growth as an ally instead of an enemy. By noting the kinds of things for which children of a given age are ready, we can help our own child to accomplish his best; in some cases we need to wait tolerantly for our child to outgrow some irritating or inconvenient ways which are characteristic of his developmental age rather than of his personality. He never "outgrows himself," however; from year to year, even in his increased maturity, he still reveals qualities we can recognize from an earlier stage.

To Discuss:

Dr. Gesell consults "certain experts called 'Mothers'." What sort of information and understanding should they be asked for? In what areas is their testimony less likely to be reliable?

In any group of eight-year-olds, what normal variations from the "Eight" pattern, described by Dr. Gesell, might you expect to find?

Will all problems with children's behavior be outgrown if due recognition is taken of their developmental capacities, or does individuality also play its part?

Under what circumstances could difficulties with the following situations be ascribed largely to characteristics of development and under what circumstances would such an interpretation be inadequate: establishing bladder control, learning to read, being polite to visitors, stealing?

Can you illustrate from your own experience this statement "The child . . . can never outgrow *himself*."

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Science Contributes

ACTIVITY AND AGGRESSION IN CHILDREN*

EDITH BUXBAUM

AT the 1943 Annual Meeting in a discussion on "The Treatment of Aggression," Dr. Lowrey clarified the meaning of the term "aggression" by pointing out that two interpretations are accepted: one by which we understand aggression as an act of unprovoked hostility and destructiveness; the other, in common use, is taken to mean "self-assertiveness." Common language, which is at times the expression of common sense, agrees in this instance with Freud who, in his early concept of instincts, discriminated between ego instincts or instincts for self-preservation, and sex instincts.[1] In this concept, aggression is one of the manifestations of the instinct of self-preservation, meaning that as long as we live we are aggressive. Destructiveness and hostility in this concept appear only as one form of aggression.

The theories on the origin of aggression vary. Their main point of contention is whether aggression in the destructive sense is a reaction to experiences, or whether it is a constitutional, original drive.[2] However, all schools and theories agree that even hostile and destructive aggression can be converted to useful and constructive ends; it can be redirected. For practical purposes, the question whether aggression was originally destructive or not seems unimportant; we must work with the fact that aggression is an instinct which can be used either for constructive or destructive ends. Our interest is in finding out the conditions which are favorable in bringing out one or the other side.

The activities of infants are usually accepted with approval. The baby is permitted to suck his fingers, make noise, spit and make bubbles with his mouth; he may wet and soil, kick and pull as much as he likes. He is praised for holding on to fingers, breast or bottle, or any object he can get hold of, and he may handle it any way he likes. He may sit, stand, crawl, or walk. Whatever he does is appreciated as progress in his development. This period is truly the child's paradise, where nothing is forbidden. As he grows older and stronger, more skillful and able to move about on his own, he meets with the disapproval of his surroundings. When this will happen differs greatly, depending on individual and cultural factors, but happen it must. The amount of anger expressed by the adult's words, actions, or facial expressions makes the child aware that his action is naughty. It will depend on a number of factors whether the child will comply with the adult's wishes by dropping the behavior altogether, or only the naughty part of it, or continue in the old way.

Freud has pointed out that each instinct has its own power of becoming aggression. Every phase of libidinal development has its own form of aggressiveness. The child's activities which are expressions of his libidinal drives can be turned into aggressive ones: he learns to bite, hold tight, pull, tear, rip, kick, run, spit—all of which he needs to be able to do in order to achieve his purposes, one of which is aggression. We can discriminate between three different stages in the development of the child's activities: first, the experimental stage in which he discovers a new activity and tries it out; second, is one of practicing, during which the child learns through innumerable repetitions; and third, the activity is at his disposal, he can call upon it when he needs it.

During the process of learning, until the child has achieved control over his vital activities and his body, his relationship to people is of greatest importance. The younger the child, the more tolerant are the parents. The older he becomes, the more is he subjected to demands and restrictions which will influence his relationship to people as well as to his own activities. Inadvertent destruction, interpreted and reacted toward as deliberate aggression, may turn the particular activity into an aggressive one to the point where it loses its original meaning and from then on is stigmatized as aggressive action only. The relationship to people; *i.e.*, the care-taking person, will influence the ability of the child to express and control aggression and also his development of activities. It is of great importance at what stage in the develop-

* Reprinted from the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January, 1947, from a paper presented at the 1946 Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

ment of a certain activity the interference from outside sets in.

David Levy [3] and Phyllis Greenacre [4] have made some observations on the reactions of animals and infants to movement restraint. Levy finds that "modifications of activities *before* they have been fulfilled, may be easily achieved." Greenacre states that, "simple hampering of motion" does not bring about any aggressive, rage-like behavior in the young infant. It seems to her that during the first year of life, the child reacts with rage only when the "angry attitude" of the restrainer is added to the imposed restraint. She also calls attention to the custom of swaddling, which is common to certain peoples, without having the general effect of marked aggressiveness in those infants. Both observers agree that friendly restraint of motion at an early age, when the child is in what I have referred to as "the experimental stage," does not provoke aggression. It would seem, however, that there is to be expected early and deep repression, as Greenacre shows in one of her adult cases.

Interference in the "practicing" stage seems to have a definitely different effect on children. Levy observes that hyperactivity, both in animals and humans, is a reaction to early movement restraint. He says "*After* a child has experienced creeping or walking, a restriction of these activities will be felt as restraint." This statement is in agreement with Lauretta Bender [5] who attributes the aggressiveness in children, admitted to Bellevue at the age of 11 to 18 months, to severe physical restrictions to which they have been subjected, in addition to being deserted or neglected by their mothers. As soon as these motherless children are consistently handled by *one* person—a mother substitute—and find opportunity to form a relationship with that person, they respond by developing new habits and playful activities. With this progress, their extreme aggressiveness diminishes, thus clearly proving it to have been a reaction to both physical restriction and lack of relationship.

The observations which have been made by Levy, Greenacre, and Bender are particularly concerned with the restraint of motility. Levy points out that restraining the motion which the child has the need to develop, provokes his aggressiveness; Greenacre and Bender see it as a combination of restraint with a lack of a positive relationship. However, it would seem that restraint *per se* at this point in humans would hardly occur without a hostile or neglectful attitude on the side of the care-taking person. It would seem that the child who is deprived in using his muscles in a constructive way, uses them instead in a destructive way. When he is given a chance to use them in accordance with his stage of development, he can display his aggressiveness in activity.

The ideas presented in the following pages are more or less theoretical conclusions, drawn from the analyses of older children. It would be desirable to follow them up with direct observations which, however, are rarely at the disposal of the analyst.

It seems significant that another reason for uncontrolled aggressiveness in children occurs as a result of failure in habit training. Habit training is, similarly, restraint in motility, an outside interference with the muscular apparatus. The adult who confines the child to his crib or prevents him from crawling, walking, sucking, masturbating, prevents him from using his muscles in accordance with his needs. In habit training, the adult demands that the child use his muscular control according to rules imposed from the outside. The aggressiveness of some of these children appears in temper tantrums; they are disorganized and unable to concentrate on any activity. A brief example will illustrate.

The case is that of a boy of ten and, because it is rather complex, I shall discuss only some of the aspects pertaining to this topic. This boy felt unloved, inferior and guilty, all of which kept him in a constant state of self-assertiveness and self-defense, expressed in the form of aggression. His symptoms contained diverse, contradictory meanings, part of which he expressed in hostility and aggression against his mother.

His temper tantrums alternated with his enuresis. He was dry at night if he had had a temper tantrum in the evening before going to bed. The connection between aggression and enuresis became even more obvious when he started to wet the blanket, pushed it to the foot of the bed, and slept on the dry sheet. As a next step, he got out of bed and urinated on the rug. He admitted enjoying the idea of his mother cleaning up the mess. He knew she would do this, although she generally neglected him, because she felt embarrassed to have others know about her child's fault which she, and rightly so, attributed to herself.

When the aggression expressed in the bed-wetting became conscious to the boy, he gave it up and found other means to control his mother. Whereas he had forced her to care for him as if he were a baby by wetting the bed, he now forced her to help him with his school work. When he was a baby, the mother

left him frequently at night, to which he reacted by wetting the bed; now he succeeded in keeping his mother at home evenings by waiting with his school work until she came home if she did go out. For him this had the significance of controlling his mother and, at the same time, of controlling himself. Simultaneously, he also learned to control his bladder. The temper tantrums were an open attack against mother both consciously and unconsciously. To some extent it was an anticipation of the mother's attack against him should he wet the bed. He punished her in the same way in which he expected to be punished. Having punished her that way, and by playing the mother's role himself, he was able to forego wetting the bed. For a long time it was the only way in which he could control both his mother and himself.

Children of this kind, whose symptoms are derived from a failure in habit training, differ from those previously mentioned. The frustration is not as terrifying; they are not as badly threatened as the children described by Bender. They were not completely thwarted in achieving control of their muscular apparatus, nor as severely lacking in human relationship. The restraint imposed upon them was introduced at a later period in their life and concentrated on one particular field, that of sphincter control. They resented this particular interference and protested against it with temper tantrums. Later, the temper tantrums became divorced from the immediate source and occurred whenever somebody or something interfered with their wishes. The relationship with the mother became disturbed at this point. All the mothers of the children treated by me for wetting or soiling were compulsive mothers, who reacted violently against their children's difficulty. They reacted against the baby's dirtiness before the question of habit training ever came up. Undoubtedly, they had a share in the symptom of enuresis as well as in the development of aggression.

The inability to control his body is continued in the child's inability to control himself in general. As soon as some of his aggression is turned into the mastery of his sphincters or of an outside object, as soon as he achieves one thing, he also makes progress in others; aggressiveness turns from destructiveness to constructiveness.

Another case deals with a disturbance in speech. A mother of a two-year-old boy consulted me because her child started to stammer. It turned out that the little boy had picked up one of the forbidden four-letter words, and had used it constantly. The mother forbade the use of the word; he could not understand why, since he never before had been forbidden using words. He reacted by continuing to use the word teasingly. A battle ensued, and the mother finally punished him. He gave up using the word—but started stammering. The mother was advised to tell the child he might use the forbidden word and that she would not punish him. He took her at her word, played with the suggestion provocatively for a while, then lost interest in the word. The stammering disappeared.

The punishing attitude of the mother connected with talking had disturbed his speech altogether. It was necessary to reverse the whole process which had led to the disturbance in order to restore his ability to speak. The child was unable to understand that just *one* certain word was forbidden; for him, it meant that the activity of talking was dangerous and prohibited. Fearing to lose his mother's love, and fearing to do wrong, he was willing to give up talking which he was in the process of learning. It was the *timing* of the prohibition which had this undesired effect. Had language already become established as a means of expression, the prohibition would not have resulted in a stammer. This child developed a symptom in which his love for his mother and his aggression against her were combined. There was no other indication of aggression and hostility.

The outcome of speech disturbance in the practicing stage is obviously different from others. While the children who were disturbed in using their muscular apparatus reacted with hostility and destructiveness, this child developed a symptom confined to the oral sphere. This kind of speech disturbance has a parallel in certain eating difficulties. Children who are beginning to learn to feed themselves are sometimes disturbed in eating altogether when they are forbidden to use their hands or the spoon as they would like to do. The eating disturbance may remain an isolated symptom. In contrast to children restrained in motility who become aggressive, these children tend toward developing inhibitions.

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Book Reviews

The Personality of the Preschool Child—The Child's Search for His Self. By Werner Wolff. Grune and Stratton, New York, 1946. 341 pages. $5.00

From the days of G. Stanley Hall's early studies of children's ideas to about 1916—the date of the Stanford revision of the Binet test—child psychologists relied largely on diaries, incidental observations and records of children's observations for their deductions. During the next thirty years in the United States, attention was largely centered upon objective studies of physical and mental growth, conditioning, social behavior and language. However, the advent of Hitler, which meant death to many kinds of science in Germany and Austria, brought a new stream of ideas and methods into the United States. To the Gestalt and psychoanalytic-minded psychologists who came here during the 30's and early 40's, we owe the rapid development of the Rorschach method and indirectly the projective methods and depth studies of personality which have been useful not only in the study of adults but even more in the understanding of children.

Dr. Wolff's book, "The Personality of the Preschool Child," is a major contribution in this field. Like Heinz Werner and William Stern, he is interested in the processes of differentiation and clarification essential in the young child's thinking and feeling; he is eager to help adults to recognize the "two worlds in which the young child and adult live isolated from each other." His subtitle *The Child's Search for His Self* refers to the process by which the child separates himself from an environment and becomes clear about his own individuality.

The book is divided into three main parts. Part I, *Observation,* reviews mental, emotional and social characteristics of early childhood and summarizes childish conceptions of reality; Piaget, Stern, Karl Buehler, would find themselves at home here. This section seems primarily to orient the American reader to the concepts and background against which Werner Wolff's own work is carried out.

Part II, *Experimentation,* is based on drawings, photographs of bodily movements, experiments designed by Dr. Wolff and records of children's language and behavior. These materials come from the nursery schools at Sarah Lawrence College, Vassar College and Bard College, where Dr. Wolff has successively worked. Readers familiar with the work of Edward Liss, Trudi Schmidl-Waehner and other workers with projective methods will find his chapters a very stimulating addition to the materials in the field. In children's art Dr. Wolff is especially interested in style of expression, the child's evaluation of his home situation as reflected in his drawings, the contents of his fantasies and the objects of his fears and hates and his relation to space. He gives special attention to the significance of balance and special proportions as indicating the child's adjustment.

Part III, *Theory,* summarizes the principles and stages of development of art in children, discusses the implications of a deeper understanding of children for education, and presents the author's philosophy concerning research method in child psychology.

American psychologists, carefully trained in rigidly objective methods, can easily find grounds for criticism in this book, especially in the rather inadequately documented discussion of intelligence.

Parents who have brought up several children may also be critical of the use of extremely clear-cut, dramatic material without any comment on the fact that children differ greatly in their expressiveness. It would be unfortunate if a generation of parents read only books like this and were led to expect that all children are equally creative and original, just as it has been unfortunate for parents to be overly concerned with age norms.

Each method in psychology, however, has the limitations of its own assets, and the shortcomings of the book are greatly outbalanced by its gifts. Child psychologists, educators and parents who are most deeply interested in trying to understand the "inner world of childhood" will be grateful to Dr. Wolff for his important contributions to our insight. His book is rich in hypotheses and clues which can also offer much stimulus to young investigators who wish to check, define and extend the ideas he has put forth. Intelligent parents and teachers will welcome it for the keys it offers to the understanding of drawings that otherwise might seem trivial or unintelligible, as well as for the stimulating approach to the child's way of orienting himself to life.

LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY
Member of teaching faculty in Psychology at Sarah Lawrence College

Psychiatric Interviews with Children. Edited by Helen Leland Witmer. 443 pp. The Commonwealth Fund, 1946. $4.50.

This is a book of great value to anyone interested in child guidance. It is intended primarily for students of child psychiatry, but everyone who works with children—teachers, social workers, parents—and who is familiar with basic psychiatric concepts will find here increased understanding of children's emotional behavior.

The editor's purpose is to present various methods of child guidance. She does not pretend to cover all the accredited techniques, or to evaluate the samples included in her selection. She merely lays before the reader ten illustrations of successful therapy. The body of the book is made up of the records of ten cases conducted by therapists in child guidance clinics in different cities throughout the country. The cases are arranged according to degree of emotional disturbance; the first group shows the treatment of non-neurotic children, the second, of children with neurotic symptoms, and the final group, of children who are seriously neurotic. In each case, while the therapist—usually a psychiatrist—worked with the child, a social worker interviewed the parent. The therapist's account of the sessions with the child is accompanied by his comments on the case and by footnotes in which he points out just what he is doing and why he is doing it. Condensed reports of the social worker's interviews with the parent are added where they provide insight into the child's behavior; they also indicate the social worker's role in modifying the parent's actions and attitudes as they affect the child.

In an introductory section, the editor outlines a brief history of child guidance. She then discusses the concept "neurosis," listing traits that differentiate children who handle their emotional conflicts in a neurotic fashion from those whose "symptoms represent . . . a more straightforward response to unfavorable environmental conditions and events." She considers also the relationship between psychiatrist and patient: "Dynamic psychiatry regards disorders of personality as disorders of personal relations; that is, as evidence of the difficulty the individual encountered in maintaining a feeling of security with the human beings who are emotionally important to him. It is highly logical, then, that chief reliance for therapy should be placed on the development of a satisfactory relationship between psychiatrist and patient and that numerous ways should be devised to use that relationship for therapeutic ends."

(*Continued on page 92*)

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Children's Books

FOR SUMMER DAYS—OUTDOORS AND INDOORS

WITH the long days of summer our children turn their curiosity and wonder on the world of the out-of-doors. There are many new books to expand their explorations and to stimulate and dramatize their awareness of nature lore.

A brightly pictured book, *Anywhere in the World,* by Irma E. Webber (Scott, $1.50), will help the youngest readers to discover endless fascinating facts about the ways in which plants and animals adapt themselves to the hazards of their surroundings. The natural camouflage with which nature protects her creatures is made vivid for them, too, in *Animal Hide and Seek,* by Dahlov Ipcar (Scott, $1.50). *Hidden Animals,* by Millicent E. Selsam, with pictures by David Shapiro (International, $1.00) is also full of interesting true stories for six to nine-year-olds.

The very youngest (four to seven) will delight in the delectable colors and fine drawings by Katherine Evans in *Johnny and the Monarch,* written by Margaret Friskey (Childrens Press, $1.00). He will be amazed to learn how the Monarch moth came to be and what happened to the caterpillar.

A pair of very real raccoons and their amusing adventures are presented by Inez Hogan with authentic and artistic illustrations: *Raccoon Twins* (Dutton, $1.00). Ducks are another subject of interest for the very young, who will be both charmed and informed by the story of *Mrs. Mallard's Ducklings,* told simply by Celia Delafield, with bright illustrations by Leonard Weisgard (Lothrop, $2.00). Another winsome tale of a family of wild ducks on the Maine coast is *Mother Penny,* by Gertrude Robinson, illustrated by Cathie Babcock (Dutton, $1.00); and any small child will have fun with a delightfully illustrated story of a pet bunny who leads his mistress on an adventure—*Round the Afternoon,* by Charlotte Jackson, with pictures by Leonard Weisgard (Dodd, $2.25).

For the child who stays city bound, *The Little Farm in the Big City,* by Erick Berry (Viking, $1.50), filled with many happy pictures, will bring real pleasure and may stir him into enthusiastic city farming. *Easter Surprise,* by Helen K. Rathbun, gives a warm friendly account of the long days between planting and blooming. It is illustrated by Vera Neville (Crowell, $1.50).

For the somewhat older child, exciting excursions into the ways of wild animals will lead him away from the narrow personal experiences of which he is now rather impatient, and will satisfy his bolder interests. *Coyotes,* a superb study of the wild wolf dog, is another in the series of nature studies by Wilfrid S. Bronson (Harcourt, $1.75). *The Tale of the Wild Goose,* by Henry B. Kane (Knopf, $1.75), follows an absorbing life history, and *Animal Inn,* by Virginia Moe with pictures by Milo Winter (Houghton, $2.50) recounts the fascinating ways of wild animals brought to the Trailside Museum in a forest preserve. Much wood and animal lore is unobtrusively included, too, in the charming story of an apple-twig doll, *Miss Hickory,* by Carolyn Sherwin Bailey, with unusually apt lithographs by Ruth Gannett (Viking, $2.50).

There are many fine action photographs of animal life accompanied by slight text in the *True Nature Picture Series,* taken from Britannica Films (Encyclopædia Britannica, 12 booklets, $.50 each), though there is some unevenness of quality in the separate booklets. A more expensive but beautiful book, sure to be cherished by the young nature enthusiast, is *The Big Tree,* by Mary and Conrad Buff (Viking, $3.00), whose fine illustrations tell the story of a redwood from seed to giant tree, interwoven with many tales of wild life.

The child over twelve will find a comprehensive and absorbing study of bee society in Louis Sutherland's *The Life of the Queen Bee* (Ackerman, $2.50). A captivating picture book on the animals in the zoo is Dena Humphrey's *The Zoo Book.* With its simple, charming photographs and its vivid and stimulating text, it will be a wonderful supplement to trips to the zoo (Holt, $2.00). There is an informative *Boys' Guide to Fishing,* by K. and E. E. Morton (Greenberg, $2.00) for those children who would take to the rod and reel. For boys and girls who are curious about the moon there is much material, scientific and mythological, in *This Is the Moon,* by Marion B. Cothren, illustrated by Kurt Wiese (Coward McCann, $2.00). *Outdoors Guide,* edited by Deep-river Jim (Didier, $2.50) is invaluable both as inspiration and information, and a new addition to

(*Continued on page 85*)

CHILDREN'S RADIO PROGRAMS

"IS RADIO MEETING THE NEEDS OF OUR CHILDREN?" This was the question raised for discussion by the children's program session at the Seventeenth Annual Institute for Education by Radio at Columbus, Ohio, May 2-5. A panel of educators, parents, a psychiatrist, and representatives of the radio industry debated the values and defects of present programing for children.

The needs of children were viewed as including the emotional need for adventure, and escape from the monotony of routines and these needs, it was felt, are being served by the exciting adventure type of program. Educational and cultural needs, however, are not being met by these programs, which, it was charged, are too often inferior presentations offering nothing of positive worth. The children's absorption in their programs was pictured as disruptive to family routines and shared activities. It was suggested, too, that children's varied tastes have not been sufficiently explored, nor has there been enough effort to tap the creative talent which might be found and directed toward the production of new and different types of programs which might further the maturing process in childhood. Radio was criticized, too, for its failure to use its vast resources to bring to young listeners a deeper appreciation and understanding of the democratic way of life and spiritual values.

Discussing the question of crime programs and their effects upon young listeners, the statement that children may be impelled toward asocial acts by hearing crime dramatized on the radio was emphatically denied. On the contrary, children, who often have "murder in their hearts," may find in these programs outlets for their aggressive feelings. Psychiatric insight stresses children's need for fantasy at one stage in the developmental process.

It was pointed out, however, that radio is only one of the many facets of expression to which children are exposed, and must be managed as other influences are managed—by parental guidance. Parents expect to take a hand in guiding children's choices and building appreciations in their reading and other activities, according to the individual child's needs. This is just as true in radio listening. Such guidance, however, must be based upon an understanding of children's interests, and must take into account that the child's tastes and preferences may not, and need not, coincide with ours. More attentive listening on the part of parents will reveal that there are both good and poor among the present programs, and that they cannot be lumped together as being all of a kind.

The suggestion that our traditional literature offers better material for children's programs than the stories being turned out by present-day script writers brought objections on two counts: Actual experience in adapting this classic literature for radio has revealed that many of our traditional favorites are full of incidents too gory and language too stilted to be offered on the air. They have to be drastically edited from both points of view. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to suppose that nothing new can be good, or that all good writing stopped after our own childhood classics were written. Children need and want contemporary stories that deal with a world they know.

Practical suggestions were for more advice by psychologists and parents to producers and broadcasters, more experimentation with new forms and ideas, and greater rewards for creative talent in children's programs.

JOSETTE FRANK

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

(*Continued from page 84*)

its indispensable series of nature guides has been published by Putnam's: *Field Book of Eastern Birds,* by Leon Augustus Hausman ($3.75).

Interest in the How and Why of the physical world around them brings children closer to the meaning of physical science, to man-made wonders and the wonders of nature and its laws. Simple but satisfying experiments, and much basically sound information will be found in the following three books: *Keys to Nature's Secrets,* by Elizabeth Rider Montgomery (McBride, $1.50), *Without Fire,* by Marian E. Baer, illustrated by Frederick T. Chapman (Rinehart, $1.25), *It Seems Like Magic,* by Josephine van Dolzen Pease, pictures by Esther Friend (Rand, $2.50).

When the days are long and the parent needs help in entertaining children indoors, he can find a wealth of suggestions for the younger child in *A Treasury of Play Ideas for Tiny Tots,* by Caroline Horowitz (Hart, $1.00), while for the older child the same author, in collaboration with Harold Hart, offers *The Jumbo Fun Book* (Hart, $1.50) with page upon page of games, tricks, riddles and puzzles to fill many happy hours.

MIRIAM DE SANTIS
Children's Book Committee

Recent Research

A GLANCE OVER THE FIELD OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

MARGARET MEIGS

"TEACHING is like pouring water from a big tub into a small narrow-necked bottle." Fifty-six years ago this observation appeared in Volume I of the PEDAGOGICAL SEMINARY. The début of this journal marked the establishment of child development as a respectable field for research. The quotation above was the fruit of G. Stanley Hall's famous inquiry into "The Content of Children's Minds on Entering School."

The content, concluded Hall, was surprisingly meager. Now with a half-century of vigorous activity behind it child development research is still exploring the content of children's minds. Professor Jersild of Columbia University says today: "Children's concepts are like a Swiss cheese: Full of holes." Research, however, has considerably broadened in scope and vision since the days of G. Stanley Hall. A department of child development with a more or less active research staff is an accepted feature of universities today. From these universities, from foundations set up especially to encourage the study of children, from schools, clinics, doctors' offices and government bureaus comes a flood of material.

The volume of studies is enormous, but each new investigation produces new problems of interpretation. There is still no complete science of behavior, no comprehensive theory which would enable us to explain, to predict, to control, or even to provide for optimum development. Research today, however, is approaching this goal of larger understanding from many different angles. There have been interesting advances on all fronts. Coordinated projects have enlarged the scope of research. There is a sharpened interest in longitudinal studies such as those of Dr. Arnold Gesell, which follow the growth of the same individual children over periods of years. There has been a big increase in the kinds of problems investigated and in the new techniques developed for approaching these problems. Dr. Margaret Mead has, for example, looked to the pattern of development in other cultures to yield us a better understanding of our own. The camera has been used with telling effectiveness by Dr. René Spitz to record the fleeting expression of emotion.

In the field of theory, brilliant work has been done in interpreting findings and organizing them into creative insights which help us to understand the dynamics of human behavior and development. Contributions of psychoanalysis are illustrated in this issue of CHILD STUDY in the articles by Dr. Spitz and Dr. Buxbaum. The urgent need for help presented by the psychiatric patient is stimulating clinical psychiatry to a new awareness of the need for further research and a clarification of its aims and processes.

Other advances have been made along the line of the practical application of research, notably in pediatrics and in the broad field of education. Some examples of achievements of recent research on these various fronts will be briefly presented in the following discussion.

Important Previous Studies

The "longitudinal study" itself is not new. The very first serious research projects, begun, it is interesting to note, in a family setting, were reports made on the development of individual babies by observant fathers and maiden aunts. The progress of Dr. Gesell's famous twins, T. and C., was recorded from time to time, from pre-school years through adolescence. Dr. Gesell's present work at the Yale Clinic has grown out of an annual follow-up of other children, studied from infancy. Important long-term studies have been made also on the careers of adults who scored high on intelligence tests in childhood and on the later life adjustments of juvenile delinquents.

Today new projects are being planned or are actually in operation, which aim to take full advantage of the possibilities of longitudinal studies in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the growth of individuals, their response and adaptation to the world in which they live.

Whether personality differences can be spotted at birth, whether education can be planned and adjusted to different types of personalities from the earliest years to maturity are the problems attacked by the

Mrs. Meigs is educational assistant on the staff of the Child Study Association of America. She is on leave of absence as school psychologist from the Brooklyn Friends School.

Mayo Foundation Child Study Project in Rochester, Minn. A combined child study, child care and guidance investigation is under way there under the direction of Dr. C. Anderson Aldrich. The plan is to keep a complete record of an entire generation from conception to maturity for all born in that city since January 1944. Interesting findings are already coming from the nurseries for the newborn in Rochester.* Classes are being held for the teachers who will soon meet these children in school. Already their parents are receiving special help in understanding the nature and problems of child development.

Among the most interesting of the longitudinal studies is that conducted at Antioch College by the Fels Research Institute for the Study of Human Development under the direction of Dr. L. W. Sontag. The research program sponsored there aims to observe the maximum number of aspects of growth and of factors influencing development. Three hundred children and their families are being intensively studied. These investigations include varied studies of the development of babies before birth. Reactions of unborn children to such diverse stimuli as sudden noises and cigarette smoking by the mother have been tested. One question posed but not yet determined by the studies is whether behavior after birth can be predicted from the baby's prenatal characteristics.

Another of the important areas investigated at Fels is the effect of primarily "democratic" or "authoritarian" patterns of parent behavior upon different children. Interestingly enough, one finding is that a "democratic" atmosphere, which expects a child to make decisions beyond his psychic strength, is not an easy environment in which to grow up.

The Problem of Choice

The very scope of the longitudinal problem may become a problem in itself. Out of the infinite varieties of human growth and behavior, of environment and biological history, on what shall the investigator focus? What is important to follow and record? And when he has decided *what*, will he be able to answer the further question of *how*? Even when the area of the study and the procedures are outlined, and the data accumulated, there still remains the task of sifting and organizing it in such a way that essential relationships emerge and become meaningful.

A discussion of these problems—a kind of "research of research"—by Dr. Jean Macfarlane, is one of the outstanding contributions of the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California. Several ambitious studies are under way there. In one, their Guidance Project, reports of observations, interviews, and tests have accumulated over a period of eighteen years on the same group of about 250 children, half of whom have received special counseling and half none. A full analysis of this wealth of material constitutes a huge project in itself.

In another of their projects, The Adolescent Growth Study, Dr. Harold E. Jones has organized the material collected on one of their many subjects into a psychological biography. This follows one child's development from an eleven-year-old pre-adolescent with an extraordinary accumulation of personal handicaps into an adequate and competent youth of eighteen. In summarizing this boy's progress toward maturity, the author comments,† "so marked an upturn in John's personal fortunes is evidence not only of the toughness of the human organism, but also of the slow and complex ways in which nature and culture come into adaptation."

New Light on Old Questions

The opportunities offered by the long perspective of the longitudinal study has stimulated originality in dealing with some time-honored problems and has also been one factor in defining some new areas for research.

Electroencephalograms, records of brain waves, have been collected for the same children over a period of years. This was one of the procedures of the Brush Foundation at Western Reserve University of Medicine in their twelve-year study. Strong evidence of sex difference was noted in the patterns of brain waves, and differences were also found between the electroencephalograms of normal children and of children who showed problem behavior.

The relation between physical growth and psychological development has always been a basic problem of research. W. C. Olsen at Michigan University has expressed the results of repeated developmental tests on the same group of 56 children in terms of various growth ages. Thus a child, in addition to a chronological and a mental age, has a height and a weight age, a strength of grip age, a reading age, etc. Graphs of the growth curves of these various items plotted for each child show interesting interrelationships between physical growth and mental

* See Science Contributes, CHILD STUDY, Fall issue, 1946.

† *Development in Adolescence.* Approaches to the Study of the Individual. Harold E. Jones and Associates. D. Appleton-Century. 1943.

skills. At the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, at the University of Colorado, and in the U. S. Children's Bureau, to mention a few centers, psychobiological research is being vigorously pursued.

The Group Influence

A problem which is increasingly absorbing to investigators today is that of the relation between the individual and society. Many studies are appearing in the field of social psychology exploring the way in which attitudes and prejudices develop, the effect on group members and outsiders of social groupings, of social status, of the characteristics of the group. The journal SOCIOMETRY was established for the purpose of reporting investigations in this field. The brilliant work of Ronald Lippett and the late Kurt Lewin at the University of Iowa on "democratic" and "authoritarian" group atmospheres has stimulated further research. At the University of Chicago under the leadership of R. J. Havighurst, Allison Davis, and others, the Committee on Human Development has embarked on a vital line of study: "Child Development in Relation to Community Social Structure."

The stimulating twin questions of research, *what* and *how,* have challenged collaborating psychologists at Vassar and Sarah Lawrence Colleges. There the private inner world of children is the target of research and child study is being approached from the angle of the "expressive meaning of behavior."

During the pre-school years, the child is building up the system of special meanings and significance through which all experience is filtered, so that the same remark may amuse one, frighten another and offend a third. Drs. Eugene Lerner, Lois Barclay Murphy, and L. Joseph Stone are trying to find out through the development of "projective techniques" how this inner world is built up. They base these methods on the theory that in his play, his games, his paintings, his use of toys and materials, etc., the youngster *projects* onto the situation his own individual understanding and feelings. By observing the child in these play or play-like situations, the trained psychologist can infer the child's inner attitudes.

The current interest in the interpretation of children's creative work is attested by the recent publication of two absorbing texts. Werner Wolff in *Personality of the Preschool Child* (Grune and Stratton, 1946) presents interpretive studies of children's drawings, stories, and expression in other media. A two-volume discussion of children's art, *Painting and Personality,* by Rose H. Alschuler and La Berta W. Hattwick, has just been issued by the University of Chicago Press.

A particularly interesting and promising aspect of the Sarah Lawrence-Vassar studies is their development of several films dealing with this method of insight into child personality.

The use of films to record and to disseminate research, so successfully pioneered by Dr. Arnold Gesell, has yet to be adequately exploited. At the 1946 Round Table of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Dr. Lawrence Kubie pointed out what the concealed camera with soundtrack offers at last a practical means of effecting a permanent and exact record of the psychoanalytic interview. An increasingly active rôle for motion pictures can also be predicted in the work of bringing the results of research into the range of practical application.

In the field of clinical psychiatry, practice cannot easily wait upon the benediction of research. Therapy and theory have developed together as the psychiatrist addressed himself to the urgent task of treating the sick personality. Clinical observation, especially through psychoanalysis, has made a major contribution to our understanding of normal children and has added new techniques to research generally. In its own field, however, systematic research has lagged.

The Round Table mentioned above and reported in the April, 1947 issue of the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* was devoted to a discussion of this situation. In a series of thoughtful papers, leaders in the field of psychiatric clinical research turned upon themselves the sharp light of self-criticism. In their unflinching analysis of the difficulties that must be overcome in clinical research and of the responsibility of psychiatry and especially psychoanalysis to shoulder this task, the Association may be pointing the way to the kind of research which may well represent the most exciting advances of the future.

Research of the Future

One line that this research will probably take was pointed out by Dr. Ernst Kris of the New School for Social Research at the Conference of the CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA in March 1947, when he emphasized the need for systematic study of large numbers of normal life histories. The longitudinal studies described earlier might sound as if they filled this requirement, but these have not been set up with a psychoanalytic orientation. As yet there is a gap between psychiatry and psychology which has not been adequately bridged. It is inter-

esting to note, for example, that in the 1,068 pages of the recently published *Manual of Child Psychology* ‡ representing nineteen authors, the contributions of psychoanalysis receive no detailed or serious consideration. The research of the future may well be enriched by fuller coordination of psychological and psychiatric insights and techniques.

The value of supplementing one field of study with the findings of another is strikingly illustrated by the way in which public health and pediatric work has been enriched by the inclusion of the data of child psychology. This is evidenced by the recent comprehensive revision of the U. S. Children's Bureau pamphlet, *Infant Care* (Bureau Publication 8, revised 1945), and amply illustrated in *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1945), by Dr. Benjamin Spock, a pediatrician with psychiatric training.

The continuous responsibility of education should be the application and testing of the conclusions of research. In this half-century during which child development has been considered a legitimate area for research, the field of education also has responded not only with a tremendous volume of its own studies but also with further tests of research findings in the living laboratory of schools. The National Education Association has provided one important channel for the study and the summarizing of results. An example of their work at its best is the recent challenging Sixteenth Yearbook of their National Council for the Social Studies, "Democratic Human Relations."

One research center exclusively devoted to the task of organizing coordinated educational research is the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation at Columbia University's Teachers College. The Institute works with associated school systems in widely different communities throughout the United States in formulating, carrying out and evaluating educational experiment. The basic problems set by the Institute are large ones: better to understand the children and the world we live in and to weave this understanding into the pattern of education.

This educational objective is, if not the aim of each specific investigation, the motivating hope of all research in child study. This young but flourishing science may seem to have provided us with less effective knowledge than one might expect from the energy and talent poured into it. But the stimulating challenge of its goal cannot be denied.

‡ *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Leonard Carmichael. John Wiley. 1946.

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News and Notes

Children's Book Award

To Howard Pease, author of *Heart of Danger,* Mrs. Hugh Grant Straus, Chairman of the Child Study Association's Children's Book Committee, sent this telegram of congratulation:

"I am very happy to tell you that our Children's Book Committee selected *Heart of Danger* as the 1946 book to which it wishes to give its honorary award as a book which faces with honesty and courage real problems in today's world." Mr. Pease flew from the West Coast to the Association's conference luncheon to receive the award in person from Mrs. Mary Fisher Langmuir, President of the Child Study Association. In accepting, Mr. Pease expressed his three aims in writing for children—to view the world and the people in it, not from the adult viewpoint but as seen by growing young people, to let his hero and his readers always discover buried treasure in spiritual gain or intellectual understanding, and to give young people credit for a capacity to understand and face the world today.

Mr. Pease has written a great many stories for young people—mostly stories of sea adventure. *Heart of Danger,* published by Doubleday and Company, is a thrilling tale of anti-Nazi underground fighters and one boy's personal conflict and triumph.

Handicapped Child

Although intended primarily for public health nurses, a pamphlet called *Mental Hygiene of the Orthopedically Handicapped Child,* recently published by the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, will prove a practical and sympathetic guide to anyone dealing with handicapped young people. Based on the thesis that the crippled child is primarily a child like other children, needing his rightful place in society, the author, E. Louise Ware, Ph.D., offers suggestions for handling the child's as well as the parents' emotional problems and anxieties. Write to the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N. Y.

Summer—Danger Period

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis issues a warning to parents that summer is the danger season for poliomyelitis, but offers reassurance both in actual statistics about epidemics and in practical precautions to be taken if the disease strikes your community. Among their recommendations to parents of patients are: "Be guided by sound medical advice." "Keep your head." "Don't worry about expense." In regard to cost, they advise parents to get in touch with the nearest Chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which will give help if needed to pay for treatments. The address is 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Valuable Pamphlet List

A carefully organized list of pamphlets helpful to anyone concerned with children may be had for the asking from the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. The list is grouped according to subject and each pamphlet is also keyed for its special interest to teachers, parents, social workers and other groups.

Summer Therapy

Wayne University offers summer training and field study in clinical group work with children at Camp Chief Noonday, Middleville, Michigan. Eighty boy and girl campers between eight and thirteen will attend the camp and students may serve either as participant observers or as counsellors. The camp is intended chiefly for graduate students. It is an extension of the all-year-round program of the Detroit Group Project, an agency for diagnostic group work and group therapy, developed by the University School of Public Affairs and Social Work. Address The Detroit Group Project, Wayne University, 5229 Cass Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

Of Nursery School Interest

The National Association for Nursery Education will hold its biennial conference this summer, August 27, 28 and 29, in San Francisco. For registration and information, address Mrs. Helen Marchand, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.

The Nursery Training School of Boston, now observing its twenty-fifth anniversary, announces courses for college and junior-college graduates and teachers in service at its Summer School, June 18 to July 26. For further details write to the Nursery Training School, 355 Marlborough Street, Boston 15, Mass.

Challenge to Secondary Schools

A new appraisal of the Eight-Year Study of thirty secondary schools made by the American Education Fellowship is given by Agnes E. Benedict in a survey called "Dare Our Secondary Schools Face the Atomic Age?" Miss Benedict outlines the history and the results of this prolonged study from 1932 to 1940 which proved the superiority of the progressive over the conservative methods, and sums up later developments in a chapter "Six Years After." She offers this successful experiment as a challenge to every American high school today. Copies of "Dare Our Secondary Schools Face the Atomic Age?" may be secured from American Education Fellowship, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Developmental Reading

The annual Institute on Developmental Reading, sponsored by the Reading Clinic Staff of the Department of Psychology, Temple University, will be held in Philadelphia, from June 23 to June 27. A three-year evaluation program will be initiated, placing emphasis each summer on a different aspect of the reading problem. This June the theme will be the integrated language arts approach. Address Emmett A. Betts, Reading Clinic, Temple University, Philadelphia 22, Pa.

Hungry India

India, on the verge of statehood, is in the throes of political and economic upheaval, aggravated by drought, flood and famine. The American Friends Service Committee and the British Friends Service Unit, cooperating with the Indian government which provides some funds for food, are attempting to alleviate some of the worst suffering. These agencies are also giving longer-term help through classes and schools in cooperative farming for young people, teaching better farming methods to the boys, and weaving, home-making and nursing to the girls. Money is desperately needed for seed, tools, food, medicine and vitamins. Send your contribution to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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BOOK REVIEWS

(*Continued from page 83*)

With this discussion in mind, the reading of the case records becomes both absorbing and instructive. The drama of the cases as stories is in itself appealing. But the fullness of the records and the careful annotations of the therapists show, as clearly as is possible in a written description, exactly what went on between the therapist and the child. Since the nature of psychotherapy makes it impossible for a third person to be present during a therapeutic session, this is the nearest approach to observation of psychotherapy. In a concluding section, the editor states that "the aim of this book has been to show that psychotherapy is a living process, not a textbook set of rules, and that he who would practice it must learn how to translate theory back into the language from which it originated—the symbols that two persons, psychiatrist and patient, use when they want to communicate with each other to therapeutic ends. . . . Theory cannot take into account all the rich variety of real life, variety that in some sciences can perhaps be largely disregarded but that in psychotherapy is the essential. In these cases we have tried to show how theory works out in practice—how diagnostic understanding is arrived at, how the therapeutic relationship is developed and used, how from day to day therapist and patient work together on their joint endeavor."

KATHERINE E. HYAM
Bibliography Committee

BABIES IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

(*Continued from page 72*)

seventeen you meet the one girl, fall in love with her on a balcony, marry her and never again need to think of another human being. Most of us have a boss whom we need to understand, and office associates to know and like, as well as all the people in our social set to love a little. Nor do we always stay in the same office; we move about into hundreds of other places in the course of our lives. As most of us live today, we must be able to enter a group of perfect strangers and make friends; if a week later, one of them loses a member of his family, we are expected to offer consolation like a sister or a brother.

It seems important, therefore, to consider this development of the possessive nature in the infant from another angle. If we give the baby interaction with a great many people in a great many situations, without at any time sacrificing its familiarity with one person and one place, we shall get a better human being.

If we could only realize that it does not hurt babies to hold them! One of our very expensive private schools always kept a baby at the school because it was good for the students; but when I asked the psychologist what the students had learned, she replied, "Never to touch the baby." If we could only realize how the baby needs interaction with hands which are enjoying it—with women's hands and men's hands, with children's hands and the hands of old people. A baby held by children finds out what it means to be a child; from old hands, it learns about age. For it is not only by the sight of faces but by interaction of touch and timing and rhythm that we can give young children a developed sense of human relationships, out of which will come many other perceptions. Through such relationships, we lay the basis in the child for learning the enormous diversity of experiences which await us in our society.

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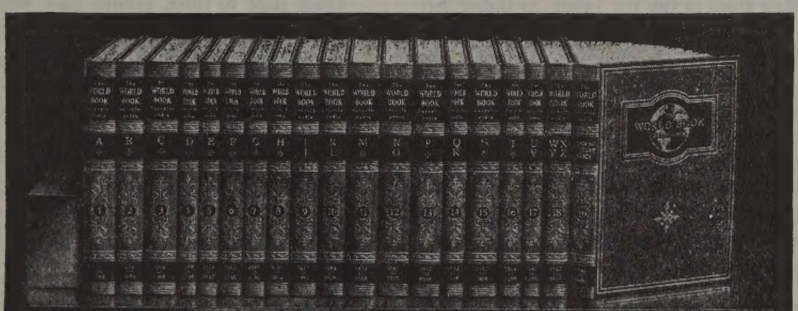

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Organizing Parent Education*

ALINE B. AUERBACH

IN the confused and changing world in which we find ourselves, we are increasingly aware that old guide-posts are gone. Parents are eager to work out as thoughtfully and clearly as they can those principles which will best help them in guiding their children. They are finding that they can do this in discussion groups, where they can profit by an exchange of stimulating thought and experiences.

Study groups can be started wherever people have a common interest. They are organized in connection with parents' associations of schools, nursery schools and child care centers, in church organizations, in settlements and neighborhood houses, in labor groups, in housing projects, professional and educational groups and social organizations.

They usually start with a small number of enthusiastic members, who draw others into the group as the meetings progress. Numbers are not important. The group should be large enough to provide a variety of experiences, but small enough for the discussion to be informal and spontaneous. There is no fixed pattern of group organization. In every case it must fit the needs of its members and its own community.

Every group needs a leader to guide the discussion and coordinate the work of the members. A good leader has initiative and resourcefulness. She likes people and they like her. She may be a forceful personality but she is careful not to dominate and overwhelm the group. Her primary interest is to further the work rather than to use the group to inflate her self-esteem. She is interested in having the members grow and develop new powers. By so doing, she grows, too.

Although there is always an informal sharing of practical experiences, she looks for general principles that give meaning to the specific problem. She comes gradually to sense when a problem is deeper than it appears and is able to suggest when the parent may profit by expert counseling individually, rather than try to get help solely through the group. She tries to acquaint herself with what the community offers in the way of counseling services and guidance clinics so that she can let members know where to go for professional help.

The leader should find out from group members where their main interests lie and plan the material accordingly. Usually this is done on the basis of the ages of their children—the young child, the school child, the adolescent. Some groups may wish to discuss general subjects such as marriage and family relations, the principles of family life in a democracy or the development of wholesome personality. Others may prefer specific aspects of development throughout childhood, such as discipline and authority, developing independence and responsibility and the prevention of delinquency. Preparation for parenthood and the problems of parents as people and as adults are also of deep significance to such groups.

Reading lists can be obtained from educational organizations and from local libraries. Sometimes members will want to build up a small library themselves. Members should be encouraged to read as much as possible. The more they read, the more they can bring to the discussion—and the more they can get from it.

Study group meetings become more interesting and stimulating when there are opportunities to visit children in groups, where the members can get a new perspective on problems of child development and care which will help them understand their own problems.

From time to time, groups may welcome a more formal lecture by an authority in the field of medicine, education, recreation or the community aspects of child care. In this way the members will appreciate that all the children of a community are important—not only their own.

While mothers usually are the ones who have the time and the interest to attend meetings, groups of mothers and fathers together have also proved successful in many places. Sometimes it is advisable to have an organized presentation of a special topic by an outside expert at a fathers' meeting. In connection with child care centers and other community activities, fathers are often helpful in making equipment and in sharing the planning and maintenance of projects. In these indirect ways, fathers participate in parent education in a vital way.

* A more comprehensive and detailed set of suggestions for parent education leaders may be found in the Child Study Association pamphlet "Today's Children for Tomorrow's World—A Guide to the Study of the Child from Infancy to Six." This is a manual for study with suggestions to group leaders by Aline B. Auerbach, a member of the Family Counseling Staff of the Association.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH

(*Continued from page 70*)

mester or beyond. Instead of the familiar eight-months' anxiety in the presence of strangers there may be a form of crying and screaming which is very difficult to overcome, because the child is actually in a depression, rejecting not only the stranger but the world at large. Such children, if not provided with adequate emotional interchange, will deteriorate progressively into a complete loss of contact with the world they live in, leaving a lasting deformation of the personality.

Practical Applications

What now are the practical applications of this insight we have gained of emotional growth in the baby's first year?

First, by recognizing that certain emotional reactions are to be expected at a given age, we may facilitate our approach to young children. A person who knows how should be able to set up friendly relations with a normally healthy child. If, in approaching a baby in the second trimester, the adult remembers to offer the full face, at the same time smiling, nodding and speaking softly, a normal child will respond easily. It is even more important to remember that in the third trimester anxiety and shyness at the sight of strangers is a developmental necessity. You should hardly begin by chucking the child under the chin. Instead, approach him with caution; in fact, the best method is to turn your back. Within a few moments, the shyest child of this age will invariably tug at your hand or coat. From then on, the baby is yours.

Most important of all, we should remember that the child does not develop these emotional sequences automatically, but only in conjunction with a partner. His emotional life grows only under the necessary reciprocity with the mother or the mother-substitute—another human being. This important lesson, therefore, we may reap from our research—the most vital single factor in the child's life is his relation to his mother. No amount of toys, no wealth of material comforts, no pampering with food or hygiene can replace it. That emotional interchange alone can make a baby into an intelligent and friendly human being.

Two thousand years ago, it was truly said, "And the greatest of these is love." In our materialistic age, we cannot stress too strongly that the old truth still holds today.

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New Publication Date

We wish to announce a change in our publication schedule. Instead of the usual SUMMER issue, which ordinarily appears June 1, our next issue will be SUMMER-FALL, and will reach you in mid-September. The WINTER issue will appear early in December.

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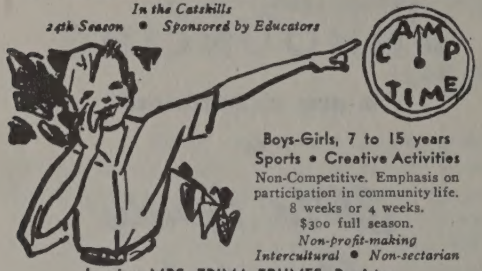

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